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will be found that the great war of the Western Alliance itself has been but an episode of that silent, secret conflict of human passions, desires, and necessities, which is the world's war,—the war which began with the birth of thought, and shall end only with the triumph of reason.

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ART. II.—*The United States Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin. A Personal Narrative.* By ELISHA KENT KANE, M. D., U. S. N. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1854.

It is now nearly three hundred years since Master Martin Frobisher manned his "two barks, the Gabriel and the Michael," the one of twenty-five, the other of twenty tons, and "one small pinnace, of ten tons' burthen," and set out upon his voyage of discovery to the Northwest. "Being thoroughly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere and all other skills pertaining to the art of navigation, and being persuaded of a new and nearer passage to Cataya than by Capo de Buona Sperança, which the Portugals yearly use; and knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet undone, whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate,"—he procured friends and funds, not, however, without difficulty, and "departed upon the said voyage from Blackwall, the 15th of June, Anno Domini 1576." Of sterner stuff than the fresh-water, and some salt-water sailors too, of our day, must the worthy captain have been made; for, with barks which they would hardly dare to use for a pleasure excursion, he did not hesitate to encounter the perils of an Atlantic voyage, and the storms of polar seas. With them, however, he did not succeed in reaching Cathay. Nor, on two subsequent voyages with larger vessels, did he penetrate farther than the sixty-first degree of latitude, entering a small strait, not yet explored to its end, running up into what is now called Cumberland Island. But nevertheless his were notable voyages, and by them Martin Frobisher made him-

self immortal. Fortunate in his enterprise he might not have been, — as some of his gold became black-lead on his arrival home, — but famous he certainly did become. Queen Elizabeth called his discovered land *Meta Incognita*, and “Frobisher’s Streights” still retain a place upon the map of North America. The man “of large corporature and of good proportion,” whom he carried home with him, must have caused some surprise among the gay gallants of the Virgin Queen’s court. The old woman whom the sailors caught, taking her “for a devil or witch,” and stripping off her buskins “to see if she were cloven-footed,” would mayhap have shocked the nerves of high-born ladies, had she been taken to England. But this much came of it, at least. Europeans found that there were tribes of men on the other side of the water, of whose existence they had not dreamed; and an interest was awakened to know more of *Meta Incognita* and its inhabitants.

Though the voyages of the Northmen to Iceland and the eastern coast of Greenland, at a much earlier date, are by no means to be forgotten, yet we must conclude that Frobisher’s voyages are the beginning of Arctic discovery. They stimulated the curiosity, and aroused the energy, of the hardiest nation in Europe. Other voyages followed, till, little by little, the passage to Cathay has been discovered — to be impracticable. Yet Nature has been conquered at last, and the Northwest Passage gained. After three centuries of effort, men have gone through Behring’s Strait, by way of Baffin’s Bay, to England; but have been compelled to leave their ship fast locked in the unyielding ice of the Arctic Ocean. But we will not anticipate.

Nine years after Frobisher’s first voyage, Master John Davis made his first attempt to find Cathay. Three times he ventured, with small, poorly equipped vessels of thirty or forty tons. He went beyond the point reached by Frobisher, and discovered the strait which now bears his name. Master Davis is described as of a brave but gentle nature, winning upon the affections of his men, while he commanded their obedience. And so completely did he impress his superiority upon them, that once, when a mutiny was preparing against him,

the mutineers cast silver bullets with which to shoot him, superstitiously supposing him invulnerable by baser metal.

After Davis followed Henry Hudson, who discovered Hudson's Bay, and was put on shore in 1611 by a mutinous crew, headed by one Green, who had been loaded with favors by the too confiding and generous master. Hudson's son John, and seven of the crew, who still clung to his fortunes, shared his dangers and his fate; for they were never heard of more. This same year Thomas Button was in Hudson's Bay, but made no new discoveries of importance. In 1616 William Baffin sailed farther north than any of his predecessors, discovered Baffin's Bay, and made a rude chart of the region.

Cathay was also sought by the way of the Northeast. Sir Hugh Willoughby, perishing on the coast of Lapland with seventy of his companions, is a sad instance of unsuccessful heroism. Sir Hugh's diary speaks of a land "now called Greenland, or King James his Land, and known to the Hollanders by the name of Spitzbergen," leaving us in doubt whether the honor of the discovery belongs to him or "the Hollanders," but giving us full assurance of his claim to be ranked among the most adventurous of Arctic explorers. Milton speaks of his enterprise as "almost heroic, if any other end than excessive love of gain or traffic had animated the design," though there is no proof of the implication of Willoughby in the sordidness of those who sent him.

But the most remarkable voyages accomplished in the earlier period of Arctic exploration, and unrivalled to the present day, unless it be by the recent exploit of Captain McClure, were those of Barentz, a Dutch navigator, who, in the years 1594, 1595, and 1596, went farther to the Northeast, off the coast of Russia, than any one before or since. He turned the northernmost point of Nova Zembla, and even succeeded in circumnavigating Spitzbergen. "There can be little doubt," says one of his eulogists, "but that Barentz, with the help of steam and modern appliances, would have accomplished the Northeast Passage." Barentz's last voyage was performed in a vessel of only fifty tons burden. On this voyage he spent ten months among the ice, having—the first case on rec-

ord — wintered in the Arctic regions. He returned with his crew in open boats, suffering the utmost hardship, and bravely overcoming the most obstinate difficulties. This was, however, too much even for him. He fell a victim to his heroism, dying just before he reached his home.

These were the most famous of “ye Arctic voyageres” of the olden time. They furnish examples of what can be done in the strength of a resolute will and a determined purpose. They show how men’s hearts can be so warmed to generous and lofty feeling, as not even to be chilled by the freezing atmosphere around them. God indeed helped them, as they all aver, sometimes lifting up the mist, sometimes breaking a way for them through the ice, sometimes sending them a calm, and bringing them “all together upon their knees, to give God humble and hearty thanks, for that it had pleased him from so speedy peril to send such speedy deliverance.” These were the men who were the pioneers in the great movement of Northern discovery. Their names, as they deserve to be, are imperishably fixed upon the regions of land and sea which they so daringly explored.

The spirit of the old voyagers lives in the new. The same unconquerable persistence, the same lofty courage, the same undeniable heroism, are still in active life in the Arctic explorers of the present. Parry, the two Rosses, Back, Richardson, Rae, McClure, Franklin about whose probable fate now gathers such a mournful interest, with their gallant companions, will leave bright names for history. If those are honored who fight against their fellows, —

“Seeking the bubble reputation,  
Even in the cannon’s mouth,”

they certainly acquire a greater glory who contend against unkindly Nature, and overcome her where she is most completely fortified. Acts of heroism there may be on the battlefield. Acts of heroism there are on the icy sea. So it is an open question whether Winter Harbor is not as glorious a name for England as Waterloo; Point Turnagain as Trafalgar; Boothia Felix as Badajos.

Our national pride is gratified by the knowledge that we now share with England the honors of discovery at either

pole, and that we can add the names of De Haven and Kane to the list of Arctic navigators. Their voyage is certainly as notable as those of any of their predecessors, and the results of it as valuable to science. Carried, though unwillingly, farther north than any who had been before them in time, they have experienced as many privations, have been exposed to as many dangers, have been victorious over as many difficulties. The remarkable drift to which they were subjected is almost unparalleled in Arctic annals. Dr. Kane writes : —

“Mount Raleigh, named by sturdy John Davis ‘a brave mount, the cliffs whereof were as orient as golde,’ shows itself still, not so glittering as he saw it two hundred and sixty-five years ago, but a ‘brave mount’ notwithstanding. No Christian eyes have ever gazed in May-time on its ice-defended slope, except our own. Yet there it stands, as imperishable as the name it bears.

“I could fill my journal with the little histories of this very shore. The Cape of God’s Mercy is ahead of us to the west, as it was ahead of the man who named it. The Meta Incognita, farther on, is still as unknown as in the days of Frobisher. We have passed, by the inevitable coercion of the ice, from the highest regions of Arctic exploration, the lands of Parry, Ross, and Franklin, to the lowest, the seats of the early search for Cathay, the lands of Cabot and Davis and Baffin, the graves of Cortereal and Gilbert and Hudson, — all seekers after shadows. Men still seek Cathay.” — p. 370.

The most remarkable voyages by recent navigators to find the Northwest Passage are those of Parry in 1819–25; of Sir John Ross in 1829–33; of Sir John Franklin, in 1845, from which there has been no return; and the Searching Expeditions, fitted out in England and America in the years 1847, 1849, 1850, and 1851. Expeditions by land have been undertaken by Sir John Franklin in 1819–22, and 1826–27, by Sir George Back in 1833, by Sir John Richardson in 1848, and by Mr. John Rae in 1846–47, 1851, and 1853–54. We have little or nothing to say of Sir John Ross’s voyage in 1818, as its results were of slight value, and many of the commander’s conclusions erroneous. Whale Sound he declared not to be navigable, Smith’s Sound he did not examine, and Lancaster Sound he overlooked. By his want of

success, he came near losing his reputation as a sailor. We therefore pass over this unlucky adventure, in calculating the results of the several expeditions.

At the beginning of the present century very little was known of the Northern coasts of North America, or of the singular people who inhabited them. True, Hearne and Mackenzie in the latter part of the preceding century had found rivers running into a Northern sea, and had followed and explored them to their mouths. Behring's Strait had been discovered in 1722, and Cook had reached Icy Cape in 1776; but beyond that, little had been done on the West. On the East the coast and water line remained very much the same as it had been left by William Baffin in 1616. Indeed, the line which he had marked had been expunged as fictitious. No new discovery of any importance had been made. Hudson's Bay had indeed been entered, but the great passage — what afterwards became the Arctic thoroughfare — of Lancaster Sound was unknown, and almost the whole northern portion of the map of North America was to be constructed. It is to the intrepid sailors whom we have mentioned, that the world is indebted for its knowledge of the geography of those regions.

Franklin's expeditions by land were entirely successful, so far as they extended. Though pursued under extreme privations and hardships that wellnigh caused the death of the whole party, they were thorough, complete, and in every way satisfactory. The Northern Ocean was found, and ascertained to be navigable, though with exceeding difficulty, and the coast line was traced very nearly from Mackenzie's River to Point Turnagain. Franklin, with his company, among whom were Back and Richardson, suffered incredibly. They were without animal food for weeks together, and were compelled, in order to sustain life at all, to eat old leather, shoes, deer-skins, and a bitter moss which grew scantily upon the rocks on their way. Old bones, used before and thrown away at Fort Enterprise, one of their wintering places, had to do double service, being boiled and boiled again, that by chance some small portion of their nutritious qualities which had previously escaped the persuasive properties of the fire might

be secured. To such extremity were Franklin and Richardson once reduced, that, had it not been for the opportune arrival of Back, who had been sent on before for help, the brave seamen would never have survived, to claim and receive, in after years, the sympathy of mankind. In these journeys, a distance, in all, of more than five thousand miles was travelled, and obstacles were overcome which would have appalled hearts less stout and strong. But Franklin, Back, and Richardson were men not easily discouraged, as their subsequent efforts have abundantly shown; and before them, as before every resolute soul, difficulties vanished.

While these brave men were battling with cold, starvation, and death upon the land, Parry was engaged on the sea in rough encounter with the hostile elements. He sailed from England on the 8th of May, 1819, with two vessels, the *Hecla* and the *Griper*, successfully entered Lancaster Sound on the 1st of August, and on the 3d of September crossed the meridian of  $110^{\circ}$  west longitude. On the 19th of October his vessels were made fast in Winter Harbor, Melville Island, to spend the first winter ever passed by civilized man in high polar regions on the American hemisphere. The long polar night, without a sight of the sun from November 16 to February 3, the brilliant aurora, the anomalous refraction of light peculiar to their position, and the various phenomena of the region, must have been strange things for men to observe, who had had no previous experience or knowledge of such wonders. We can well imagine how their curiosity must have been excited, and what a prolific theme for reflection and conversation was thus given them. Still the winter wore off wearily, and the ship's school, theatre, and newspaper scarcely helped to vary the monotony. On the 1st of August, 1820, the ships were released. Parry sailed west, as far as  $113^{\circ}$  west longitude, where he was stopped by ice, when he retraced his course, and arrived home safely on September 30th.

This first voyage of Parry was one of the most successful voyages ever made in this direction. Favored by the season, he passed farther west with his ship than any navigator before or since, and made extensive discoveries. Lancaster Sound, Prince Regent's Inlet, Barrow's Strait, Wellington



Channel, the Parry Islands, and Banks's Land, attest his good fortune and his industry. His second voyage was made in 1821-23, when he passed up Hudson's Strait, and, sailing northward as far as Fury and Hecla Straits, made numerous discoveries. His third voyage was in 1824-25, when he passed up Prince Regent's Inlet, and, in the summer of 1825, lost one of his ships, the *Fury*, which necessitated his return home, where he arrived about the middle of October. Thus, as to discoveries in the geography of this section of North America, Parry must always stand in the front rank of Arctic voyagers. Notwithstanding the failure of his attempt to reach the Pole by way of Spitzbergen in 1827, he was a most successful navigator, as all will readily concede. Circumstances favored him, it is true; yet most of his results were accomplished by his indomitable energy. The season of his voyages was eminently propitious to his purposes. The great disruption of ice, which cleared the polar seas in 1815 and the two following years, caused, as is supposed, by some physical change of the earth's surface in that quarter, gave him abundant opportunity, and conduced to the fortunate issue of his endeavor; but it must be confessed that it is greatly to his credit that he used the opportunity so well, and achieved his honors so perfectly.

Sir John Ross's voyage in 1829-33 was a most notable voyage, whether we consider the sufferings to which his party was subjected, and the fortitude with which they were borne, or the scientific results which he reached. True, he did not find the Northwest Passage, as he confidently hoped to do, but he at least ascertained, most decisively, that it was not where the general opinion of seamen and others had placed it. This was something. It effectually put an end to all attempts to reach the western sea by way of the southern part of Prince Regent's Inlet. Ross sailed from England, May 24, 1829, passed Cape York, at the entrance of Prince Regent's Inlet, August 9, found the *Fury's* stores at Fury Point in a state of excellent preservation after four years' exposure, August 14, and was finally stopped by ice near the southern extremity of the inlet, September 30. The ship was housed in, October 27, and the usual preparations made for winter. The

following summer he succeeded in advancing only about three miles, when he was again compelled to make ready for winter, after indulging in some speculation as to the time required to make the Northwest Passage at his rate of travelling. In the summer of 1831 he sailed four miles further. On Christmas day of that year, he informs us that the cabin dinner consisted of a "round of beef, which had been in the *Fury's* stores for eight years, and which, with some vegetables and veal, was as good as on the day on which it was first cooked." Early in the next season, it became apparent that the voyage could be prosecuted no longer, and that the ship must be abandoned. Early in April, accordingly, stores were pushed forward in the direction of Fury Point, by means of sledges, with immense labor, and on the 29th of May, 1832, the colors were nailed to the mast, and the *Victory* was abandoned. Fury Beach was reached, July 1, and after building a house, and allowing the men a rest of a month, the boats of the *Fury* were taken, and an attempt made to escape from the long imprisonment. The 31st day of August found the party at Barrow's Strait, stopped by the ice, which was one solid mass. Nothing remained but to return to the house on Fury Beach, where they arrived, October 7, and prepared for another winter. This last winter was one of exceeding dreariness. The men were dispirited, the want of occupation and the general monotony of their life induced sickness, and the opening of spring was impatiently looked forward to. At last, on the 14th day of April, 1833, a beginning of exertion was made, by sending supplies forward. The boats were found where they had been left the preceding year, thirty-two miles from Fury Beach, covered with snow. This was on the 24th of May, and after several journeys between this point and the wintering station, for the purpose of bringing on supplies, all the members of the party were assembled at the boats on the 12th of July. After waiting till the 15th of August, they got under way, reached Barrow's Strait the next day, were fortunate enough to find a lane of open water, through which they sailed, and were picked up by the *Isabella* whaler on the 26th. Poor, starved, unshaven, ragged as they were, they presented an appearance of exceeding wretchedness. By the

generosity of their brother sailors, they were provided with all things needful, and though they were at first "too comfortable to sleep," yet they soon resumed their accustomed habits of life, and thankfully rejoiced that there was once more an assurance of home and friends. On the 18th of October they landed on their native coast.

On this voyage, attended as it was by so much suffering, it is somewhat remarkable that very little sickness was experienced. The scurvy, that scourge of a long sea voyage, was kept off for two years, and during the whole time, out of a crew of twenty-three persons, only three died, and but one of those from diseases induced by the climate. This fortunate state of things was undoubtedly brought about by the systematic precautions adopted by the commander. Ross himself attributes it to the provision made for securing dry apartments on board the ship, plenty of exercise, good spirits, and particularly to *abstinence from intoxicating drinks*. It has been supposed that sailors, more than all others, need the stimulation of spirituous liquor; but Ross's evidence on the point entirely dispels this idea. His words are so explicit in regard to this matter, as to deserve quotation. They have the more weight, inasmuch as they are written by one who disclaims any respect for temperance in the abstract, and who indulges in the fashionable sneer at "paltry, pretending, fantastical ultra-philanthropy." He says:—

"It is difficult to persuade men, even though they should not be habitual drinkers of spirits, that the use of these liquors is debilitating instead of the reverse. The immediate stimulus gives a temporary courage, and its effect is mistaken for an infusion of new strength. But the slightest attention will show how exactly the reverse is the result. It is sufficient to give men under hard and steady labor a draught of the usual grog, or a dram, to perceive that often, in a few minutes, they become languid, and, as they term it, faint; losing their strength in reality, while they attribute that to the continuance of their fatiguing exertions. He who will make corresponding experiments on two equal boat's crews, rowing in a heavy sea, will soon be convinced that the water-drinkers will far outdo the others.

"It is not that I am declaring myself an advocate for temperance societies, whatever may be their advantage, nor that I am desirous of

copying a practice lately introduced into some ships, under whatever motives; but were it in my power as commanding a vessel, I would exclude the use of grog on the mere grounds of its debilitating effects, and independently of any ulterior injury which it may do; reserving it for those cases alone in which its use may be deemed medicinal, or for any special reason useful."

Ross elsewhere speaks of the use of "grog" as causing inflammation of the eyes, and as aggravating snow-blindness, and of abstinence from its use as a preventive of scurvy. And this is pretty good evidence, coming as it does from one who had then seen forty years of service.

Sir John Ross was most ably seconded on this expedition by his nephew, James Clark Ross, from whom we shall hear again by and by. It is to this gentleman's energy and ability that we are indebted for the valuable scientific results of the voyage. In his expedition in the spring of 1830, he thoroughly explored the neighboring country to the west. He found a large peninsula making up northward, to which the name Boothia was given, (in honor of Mr. Felix Booth, who furnished the necessary funds for the voyage,) and which was joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus. A series of small lakes lay between the inlet and the western sea. Following these, James Ross traced the line of King William's Land to a point distant from Point Turnagain but 222 miles. Perceiving the dip of the magnetic needle to be very nearly 90°, he wisely conjectured that the north magnetic pole could not be far distant. In the following summer he verified the conjecture, and had the satisfaction of standing on the spot, planting on it the English flag, and naming it the "Magnetic Pole of William IV." It was found to be in latitude 70° North, longitude 97° West. We believe that the place is variable, and that Commander Ross only determined its position at that particular time. Scientific men in Europe had already calculated where it should be. Commander Ross confirmed their calculation by actual experiment. But to him, more than to any one else, belongs the honor of the discovery. By a comparison, too, of his meteorological observations (which were very full and complete) with others, the pole of maximum cold was found to be in 73° north latitude,

100° west longitude, or about 3° north of the north magnetic pole.\*

Ross's long absence occasioned much anxiety in England, and in 1833 Captain Back was sent by land in search of him. He of course did not find Ross, who had already started for home, but he discovered and traced to its mouth the river bearing his name, near which the catastrophe supposed to have overtaken Sir John Franklin's party must have occurred. The mouth of this river, as nearly as we can ascertain, is in latitude 67° 11' North, longitude 94° 30' West. Captain Back's second voyage to Repulse Bay, in 1836-37, was an entire failure, his ship having been caught in the ice and driven about for ten months.†

In the same and the two following years, Dease and Simpson traced the coast from Point Turnagain to Akkolee, thus completing the discoveries of Franklin and Ross.

We come now to the most interesting period of the Arctic search,—that occupied by Sir John Franklin, and by those who went not so much to find the Northwest Passage as to seek for a lost companion and fellow-sailor. Franklin, having been knighted after his return from his second expedition in 1827, and having been on command in the Mediterranean in 1830, was afterwards appointed Governor of Van Diemen's Land. Recalled from this post in March, 1843, he was intrusted, in 1845, with the command of an expedition then fitted out to renew the search for the Northwest Passage. This expedition consisted of two ships, the *Erebus* and the *Terror*,—names now familiar to all the civilized world,—which had already braved the winters of the southern pole, and thus enjoyed the prestige of success. Two distinguished officers, Captain F. R. M. Crozier and Commander J. Fitzjames, accompanied him as coadjutors. An able corps of

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\* It is a little singular that to the same enterprising officer belongs the honor of discovering the south magnetic pole. In 1839, a voyage to the Antarctic regions was arranged by the English government, and Sir James C. Ross was placed in command. In the course of this voyage he succeeded in discovering the south magnetic pole, in latitude 70° South, longitude 162° East.

† In 1824, Captain Lyon, in the *Griper*, attempted the same voyage, but after narrowly escaping shipwreck was compelled to give it up, by the inclemency of the season and the unseaworthiness of his vessel.

subordinates, sixteen in all, and one hundred and thirty seamen, made up the complement of the two ships. The vessels sailed from England on the 19th of May, 1845, were at Whale Fish Islands on the 4th of July, and were last seen in Melville Bay on the 26th of the same month. This was the latest known of them till the investigations of the searching expeditions of 1850-51 made it evident that Franklin and his party, with their ships, had wintered at Beechey Island, at the entrance of Wellington Channel, in 1845-46.

Franklin's instructions, dated May 5, 1845, directed him to "proceed with all despatch to Lancaster Sound, and, passing through it, to push on to the westward, in latitude  $74\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , without loss of time, or *stopping to examine any openings to the northward*, until he reached the longitude of Cape Walker, in about  $98^{\circ}$  west. He was to use every effort to penetrate to the *southward and westward* of that point, and to pursue as direct a course to Behring's Strait as circumstances would permit. He was cautioned not to attempt to pass by the western extremity of Melville Island, until he had ascertained that a permanent barrier of ice or other obstacle closed the prescribed route. In the event of not being able to penetrate to the westward, he was to enter Wellington Sound in his *second summer*." He was also to throw overboard daily, after passing longitude  $65^{\circ}$  west, a copper cylinder, containing a paper showing the position of his ships. Communication was to be opened with the natives of the American coast and the Hudson's Bay Company, if possible. His vessels were strengthened with the utmost care, and by all the means then afforded. The only failure, if any, was in the quality of the provisions with which the expedition was supplied, — revelations having been afterwards made in England which engendered a suspicion that the preserved meats and vegetables were of the poorest kind. When the expedition was last heard from, the officers and men were in the best spirits, and highly elated at the prospect of success. Sir John writes to Lieutenant-Colonel Sabine, July 9, 1845: "I hope my dear wife and daughter will not be over-anxious if we should not return by the time they have fixed upon; and I must beg of you to give them the benefit of your advice and experi-

ence when that time arrives, for you know well that without success in our object, even *after the second winter*, we should wish to try some other channel, if the state of our provisions and the health of the crews justify it." On the 12th of July, he writes to the Admiralty that "the ships are now complete, with supplies of every kind, for three years." He also speaks of "the energy and zeal of Captain Crozier, Commander Fitzjames, and of the officers and men with whom I have the happiness of being employed on this service." Lieutenant Fairholme of the *Erebus* writes: "On board we are all as comfortable as it is possible to be. I need hardly tell you how much we are all delighted with our captain. He has, I am sure, won, not only the respect, but the love of every person on board, by his amiable manner and kindness to all. He has been most successful in his selection of officers, and a more agreeable set could hardly be found. Sir John is in much better health than when we left England, and really looks ten years younger." Letters from other officers are of the same tenor. Thus happily and harmoniously, and with excellent prospects, the ill-fated expedition began.

It was not till January, 1847, that any apprehensions for the safety of Franklin and his crew began to be felt in England. Then Sir John Ross stated his conviction that the ships were frozen up at the western end of Melville Island. Sir W. E. Parry was of opinion that Franklin would attempt to go southward "before he approached the southwestern extremity of Melville Island, that is, between the 100th and 110th degree of longitude." He also thought that "an attempt might be made by them to fall back on the western coast of North Somerset." Sir James C. Ross's opinion was as follows: "It is far more probable, that Sir John Franklin, in obedience to his instructions, would endeavor to push the ships to the south and west as soon as they passed Cape Walker; and the consequence of such a measure, owing to the known prevalence of westerly winds, and the drift of the main body of the ice, *would be their inevitable embarrassment*; and if he persevered in that direction, which he probably would do, I have no hesitation in stating my conviction, that

*he would never be able to extricate his ships, and would ultimately be obliged to abandon them.* It is therefore in latitude 73° North, and longitude 135° West, that we may expect to find them involved in the ice, or shut up in some harbor." Sir John Richardson coincided with the views expressed by Sir J. C. Ross, and added the opinion, that Franklin and his party "would make either for Lancaster Sound to meet the whalers, or to Mackenzie River to seek relief at the Hudson's Bay posts."

The English Admiralty, acting upon these advices, determined to send out three expeditions, having for their object the exploration of the sea or land southwest of Cape Walker. One was to proceed, under the command of Sir James C. Ross, to Lancaster Sound; another, down Mackenzie River, under Sir John Richardson; and a third, through Behring's Strait, under Captain Kellett. Ross's command consisted of two ships, the *Enterprise* and the *Investigator*; and his instructions were to search Lancaster Sound, Barrow's Strait, and the coast between Cape Clarence and Cape Walker, to secure winter quarters for one of his ships near Cape Rennell, and to winter with the other, if possible, at Winter Harbor, Melville Island, or some harbor on the coast of Banks's Land. From these two points parties were to be sent southward and southwestward, from the first ship, to explore the west coast of North Somerset and Boothia, and from the second, to communicate with Richardson, on the *Coppermine* or in Wollaston and Victoria Lands, or with the Hudson's Bay Company's post, Fort Good Hope, on the Mackenzie. Richardson was to examine the coast between the Mackenzie and the *Coppermine*, and the passages between Wollaston and Victoria Lands and Banks's Land. Kellett with the *Herald* and the *Plover* was to proceed, through Behring's Strait, "along the American coast, as far as possible consistent with the certainty of preventing the ships being beset by the ice." Had these expeditions been able to carry out their instructions, Franklin and his crews would, in all human probability, have been saved, if he followed the course which his instructions directed, and which recent intelligence renders it almost certain that he did.



Sir James C. Ross, provided, in addition to two ships, with a steam-barge for making the necessary explorations, left England in the spring of 1848, reached Possession Bay, at the entrance of Lancaster Sound, August 26th, and arrived off Cape York on the 1st of September. Hence proceeding across Barrow's Strait, he attempted to reach Cape Riley at the opening of Wellington Channel, but was prevented by the ice. An attempt to reach Cape Rennell on the south side of the strait also failed, from the same reason. Having no other alternative, he made for Port Leopold at the western opening of Prince Regent's Inlet. Here, on the 12th of October, the ships were hove into their winter quarters. Travelling parties during the next spring explored the western side of Prince Regent's Inlet and the western coast of North Somerset, but were unable to reach Cape Riley and Beechey (whether island or cape is matter of discussion), on account of the hummocky state of the ice in Barrow's Strait. The ships were not released from the ice till the 28th of August, 1849. For the third time, Ross attempted to reach Wellington Channel, and for the third time he was unsuccessful. The land-ice was so fast as to prove an effectual bar to his progress. On the 1st of September his ships were caught in the ice, were completely beset, and were helplessly drifted into Baffin's Bay. The season was too far advanced for further search, and Ross was compelled to return to England. This was an exceedingly unfortunate expedition, in whatever aspect it is viewed. Had Ross succeeded in reaching Beechey in the winter of 1848-49, he would doubtless have found the traces of Franklin's encampment of 1845-46, and probably some indications as to his subsequent route. Or had he thought that Franklin was probably wintering, at the same time with himself, near Cape Walker, or just beyond, as has been conjectured, not without reason, he would unquestionably have made extraordinary efforts to reach those points. As it was, his parties must have been within fifty miles of Franklin's. Or had he escaped the drift, and succeeded in pushing westward to the sea beyond Cape Walker, in 1849, as he intended, he might have communicated with Franklin, and thus have been the instrument of his salvation.

It is a melancholy reflection, that never had an expedition so wisely planned failed so signally. And that too, not by any fault or remissness of Sir J. C. Ross. His energy, courage, and perseverance are well known. Whatever man could do, he doubtless did. It was an inscrutable, but, we trust, an all-wise Providence, that alone frustrated his noble exertions.\*

On the land side, Richardson was able to carry out but half his plans. He accomplished without much difficulty the descent of Mackenzie River, arriving at its mouth on the 3d of August, 1848. Thence he coasted along the shore with his boats, three in number, till he reached a point eight miles from Cape Kendall, latitude  $67^{\circ}$  North, longitude  $115^{\circ}$  West, on the 1st of September. Here the party were compelled to abandon their boats on account of the ice, and to make the journey overland to their winter quarters at Fort Confidence on Great Bear Lake, where they arrived, September 15th. At no time during this season was Richardson able to cross from the mainland to Wollaston or Victoria Land. The state of the ice in Dolphin and Union Straits rendered them entirely impassable. The task of examining Wollaston and Victoria Lands was unavoidably postponed to another season, which it was hoped would be more favorable. This was intrusted to Mr. John Rae, who was Richardson's most efficient coadjutor upon this expedition. To no better hands could it have been given. Mr. Rae had already established his reputation for intrepidity and perseverance by an exploration which he had conducted, in the summer of 1846 and the spring of 1847, in Prince Regent's Inlet. Supplying himself with provisions by his own skill as a sportsman, he had passed the winter on the desolate shores of Repulse Bay, and in the following spring had completed the survey of the inlet on foot. This energetic officer left Fort Confidence, with a boat's crew of six men,

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\* Ross had intended to send one of his ships home, that he might continue the search for a longer period with the other. The Admiralty, however, judged best to send him a supply of provisions for both ships. The *North Star* was sent out in 1849, but did not go farther than Holstenholme Sound. The next year she went to Navy Board Inlet and left her stores. Sir Edward Belcher was directed to take them in 1852, but could find nothing whatever on the spot.

early in June, 1849, arrived at the Coppermine on the 21st, and reached the sea, July 14th. On July 24th he reached the place where the boats had been left in the preceding autumn, and found them nearly destroyed by the Esquimaux. On the 30th he reached Cape Krusenstern, and waited for a favorable opportunity of crossing the strait to Wollaston Land. Anxiously did he watch the strait, but only once was there any opportunity of crossing. His own despatch describes his detention as "most tantalizing to all the party." At last, on the 19th of August, an opening appeared. Eagerly the party took to the boat. But again they were doomed to disappointment. Having rowed seven miles, they encountered, as he says, "a stream of ice, so close packed and so rough, that we could neither pass over nor through it." They were compelled to return as best they could to the mainland. Having arrived there safely, Mr. Rae, on the 22d of August, ascended a hill, from which a fine view was obtained of the surrounding region. "As far as I could see with the telescope," he says, "in the direction of Wollaston Land, nothing but the white ice forced up into heaps was visible, while to the east and southeast there was a large space of open water, between which and the shore a stream of ice, some miles in breadth, was driving with great rapidity toward Cape Hearne and its vicinity." All hopes were now given up of reaching Wollaston Land, and Rae returned with his party to Fort Confidence, where he arrived, with the loss of one man, on the 1st of September.

Here was another most unfortunate failure. Could Rae have reached the wished-for shores of Wollaston and Victoria Lands during this season, he would have been able, it may be, to communicate with Franklin, who was probably at that time (if Rae's recent report is correct) off the northern or northeastern coast of Victoria, or perhaps on the land itself. But here again was the same obstruction which baffled Ross, — ice, impassable ice. In 1851 Rae succeeded in exploring the eastern shore of Victoria Land as far as 71° North, without, however, finding any traces of the missing party. Then it was too late to furnish assistance. He also engaged an Esquimaux chief to occupy stations between Bear Lake and Kendall River, a branch of the Coppermine, in

the summer of 1850, for the purpose of relieving any whites that came that way. But this arrangement was to no purpose. Richardson returned home in 1849, landing at Liverpool, November 6th. Rae wintered at Fort Confidence and went east in 1850.

Meanwhile Kellett's expedition, by way of Behring's Strait, met with no better success. Kellett in the *Herald* visited Kotzebue Sound, repassed the strait before the Plover appeared, and wintered at some port to the southward. The Plover did not sail from England till February, 1848, and did not reach the strait at all in 1848. She wintered at a port on the Asiatic coast, just outside of Behring's Strait. In the spring of 1849 she passed with the *Herald* into the Arctic Sea, and Lieutenant Pullen succeeded with two of her boats in reaching Mackenzie River. This he ascended as far as Fort Simpson, where he spent the winter. During the following summer (1850) he made an attempt to reach the sea. He proceeded eastward as far as Cape Bathurst, was there stopped by the ice, and was compelled to return to the Mackenzie. The *Herald* passed the winter of 1849-50 at Mazatlan; the Plover at Chamisto Island in Kotzebue Sound, where she was to remain as a store-ship.

We have two significant facts here made prominent. There were no expeditions in the Arctic Sea, in the winter of 1849-50, except Franklin's. Ross had been drifted into Baffin's Bay, and had returned to England. Richardson was also safe at home. Rae was at Fort Confidence, Pullen on the Mackenzie, Kellett at Mazatlan, and Moore at Kotzebue Sound. If this was the time of Sir John Franklin's greatest need, we have the sorrowful fact, that the best-devised expeditions for his succor had all failed, and there was no possibility of his relief. Then, too, all accounts agree that the season of 1849 was an exceedingly close one. Ross and Rae could do nothing on account of the ice; Kellett and Moore report ice everywhere; and Richardson learned that "the Mackenzie did not break up at Fort Simpson till the 23d of May, being fifteen days later than Mr. McPherson had known it during twenty years' residence on its banks." "It is appointed unto all men

once to die," and we cannot but sadly feel that Franklin's time had come.

The British government, with a most commendable zeal, did not allow itself to be disheartened by these repeated failures. Another expedition was organized in the spring of 1850. Two ships, the *Resolute* and the *Assistance*, with two steamers as tenders, the *Pioneer* and the *Intrepid*, were fitted out and placed under the command of Captain H. T. Austin. These were to continue the search through Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Strait. To this expedition was added another, consisting of two vessels, the *Sophia* and the *Lady Franklin*, which were placed in charge of Captain Penny, an experienced whaler. Besides these, public subscription furnished a vessel, the *Felix*, for the veteran Sir John Ross, and *Lady Franklin* equipped a small schooner, the *Prince Albert*, which was placed under the charge of Commander Forsyth. These vessels left England in April and the beginning of May, and almost simultaneously entered Lancaster Sound early in August. Mr. Henry Grinnell of New York fitted out an expedition consisting of two vessels, the *Advance* and the *Rescue*, under the command of Lieutenant Edwin J. De Haven, U. S. N., to act with the English expeditions in this cause of humanity. The American expedition sailed from New York, May 22d, and reached the entrance of Lancaster Sound, August 19th. A week later, the searching parties, American and English, were all together in the neighborhood of Cape Riley. At this point commenced the real work of the searching fleet. On the 23d of August, Captain Ommaney of the *Assistance*, and Mr. Griffin, the commander of the *Rescue*, landed at Cape Riley, and had the satisfaction of finding the first indications of Franklin's party. Traces of an encampment were clearly to be seen. A large cairn, one or two tent-places, pieces of wood, bones of birds, meat-cans, and other articles, were found here and at Cape Spencer, proving conclusively that both sites had been temporarily occupied by parties from Franklin's ships, whether shooting parties, travelling parties, or otherwise. What put this beyond a doubt, was the finding on the spot of "scraps of newspapers, bearing the date of 1844; a paper fragment with the words 'until called' on it,

seemingly part of a watch order; and two other fragments, each with the name of one of Franklin's officers written on it in pencil." But what was found at Beechey was the most conclusive evidence of all, that Franklin had made his first winter-quarters at that point. Three graves were discovered by one of Penny's men, with head-boards attached, on which were inscribed the names of two seamen of the *Erebus*, and of one who had died "*on board* of H. M. ship *Terror*." The earliest date was "January 1, A. D. 1846," the latest "April 3, 1846." Franklin had spent the winter of 1845-46 at Beechey, and his ships were not then wrecked. Besides these were found a piece of wood which had evidently been used for an anvil-block, a series of mounds, shavings of wood, "a deposit of more than six hundred preserved-meat cans," "fragments of canvas, rope, cordage, sail-cloth, tarpaulins, clothing, paper," "in a word, the numberless *reliquiæ* of a winter resting-place." "With all this, not a written memorandum, or pointing cross, or even the vaguest intimation of the condition or intentions of the party. The traces found at Cape Riley and Beechey were still more baffling. The cairn was mounted on a high and conspicuous portion of the shore, and evidently intended to attract observation; but, though several parties examined it, digging round it in every direction, not a single particle of information could be gleaned." Traces of sledge-parties were plainly to be observed to the north, indicating that a systematic exploration had been made towards the upper part of Wellington Channel.

These discoveries terminated the work of the season of 1850. The *Prince Albert*, after searching Regent's Inlet to Fury Beach, returned home, arriving on the 22d of October. The *Felix*, with Penny's and Austin's squadrons, went into winter-quarters near Griffith's and Cornwallis Islands about the last of September. The American expedition, agreeably to positive instructions, which enjoined upon Lieutenant De Haven "to return to New York in the fall," started for home, September 13th. The next day both vessels were caught in the ice, "literally frozen tight in the mid-channel of Wellington Straits." The winter experience of the party was a strange one. By no means could the vessels be extricated. On the

15th of September an extraordinary drift to the northward commenced. It continued, with a variation of drift for a few days to the southward, till the 2d of October, when the ships had reached a point in  $75\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  north latitude. From this time a southerly drift commenced. The vessels were carried, in spite of themselves, down Wellington Channel, through Barrow's Strait and Lancaster Sound, into Baffin's Bay, as far south as latitude  $66^{\circ} 33'$  North, till, on the 5th of June, 1851, the floe to which they had been so long fastened suddenly broke to pieces. The ships were now once more free, with the exception of the *Advance*, which remained cradled by the stern "in a mass of ice exceeding twenty-five feet in solid depth," and with an area of ninety by fifty feet, — a solid body of "108,000 cubic feet." Several days' labor of sailing, sawing, &c. at last freed the brig from her encumbrance, and on the 8th of June, she was again upon an even keel, much to the satisfaction of all concerned. Lieutenant De Haven, nothing daunted by his winter's hardship, during which the vessels and men were several times in the extremest peril, resolved to continue the search through another season. The expedition proceeded to Melville Bay, but could go no farther. After several ineffectual attempts to pass through the bay, on the 19th of August De Haven resolved to return to New York. The *Advance* arrived home on the 30th of September, and the *Rescue* on the 7th of October, "with grateful hearts from all on board to a kind and superintending Providence for our safe deliverance from danger, shipwreck, and disaster during so perilous a voyage."

We return now to the English expeditions, wintering at Griffith's Island. The searching parties for the spring were admirably organized. Penny was to go up the shores of Wellington Channel; Lieutenant Aldrich was to go up Byam Martin Channel to the west; Lieutenant McClintock, to proceed to Melville Island; and Captain Ommaney, with Lieutenant Osborn, to cross Barrow's Strait to Cape Walker and the land adjoining. All these plans were faithfully executed. Penny went up Wellington Channel till stopped by open water, near Cape Beechey, on the 30th of May. Returning to his vessel, he procured a boat, and, dragging it to the

water by the 17th of June, was there baffled by contrary winds, and obliged to return once more. Aldrich went as far as the west coast of Bathurst Island, latitude  $76^{\circ} 15'$  North, finding reindeer there in April, and seeing large flocks of wild fowl winging their way northward. McClintock reached the western extremity of Melville Island on the 27th of May, and made out the coast of Banks's Land in the distance. He found the traces of Parry's encampment in 1820, and brought away with him part of the wheel of a cart, used by Parry for his travelling parties. At Winter Harbor distinct traces of Parry's visit were to be observed. At this place a white hare, so tame as almost to allow the men to touch her, entered the tent. McClintock says in his report: "I have never seen any animal in its natural state so fearless of man; and there cannot be a more convincing proof that our missing countrymen have not been here." This enterprising officer travelled eight hundred miles in eighty days, and found on the island deer, musk-oxen, bears, and numerous birds. Ommaney and Osborn examined Cape Walker, and the western coast of Prince of Wales Land, Osborn proceeding as far south as nearly to latitude  $72^{\circ}$  North. He says that the appearance of the ice indicated "the accumulation of many years, and bore, for some forty miles, a quiet, undisturbed look. Then we passed," he says, "into a region with still more aged features: there the inequalities on the surface, occasioned by the repeated snows of winter and thaws of summer, gave it the appearance of a constant succession of hill and dale." It is needless to say that no one of these parties succeeded in finding any traces of Franklin's party. And the results to which they came were, that Sir John had not passed to the westward of Parry's Island, had not been at Cape Walker, nor upon the land to the south and west of it, but must have gone up Wellington Channel. With this opinion Dr. Kane fully concurs. That passage into what is supposed to be the Polar Sea was found to be open ten miles above Barrow's Strait a full month earlier than the strait to the south of it. Yet, strange to say, when the open season came on, as it did by the 1st of August, the English expeditions made no attempt to go up Wellington Channel. True, the mouth was



closed by a barrier of ice, and they knew nothing of De Haven's drift. But, provisioned, as they were, for three years, there was no sort of risk in waiting where they were till a favorable opportunity for exploration presented itself. On the contrary, they all returned to England, arriving there early in the fall of 1851.

During this time explorations were carried on at the west with like fruitless results. Mr. Rae, as we have said, visited Victoria Land in the summer of 1851, but found nothing. Many parties of Esquimaux were seen, but they had no information. This exploration finished the survey of the American coast from Behring's Strait to Hudson's Bay. Besides this journey of Rae, an expedition had been sent to Behring's Strait, leaving England in the winter of 1849-50. It consisted of two vessels, the *Enterprise* and *Investigator*, the former under Captain Collinson, the latter under Captain McClure. They sailed January 20th, 1850, communicated with the *Herald* and the *Plover*, the former of which was ordered home, and safely entered Behring's Strait. The *Enterprise* could not get through the ice, and was forced to go south. She wintered at Hong Kong. The *Investigator*, being a better sailer, left her consorts in the rear, and was last seen from the west, August 4, 1850, entering the pack under full sail to the eastward, in latitude  $70^{\circ} 44'$  North, longitude  $159^{\circ} 52'$  West. McClure is a true specimen of the Arctic voyager. Nothing can exceed his persistent perseverance. He wrote to the Admiralty, that, "should he find no navigable channel after pushing ahead for two seasons, he intended to desert his vessel on the third, and start on foot for Melville Island and Leopold Harbor." McClure continued his voyage to the eastward as far as Cape Parry, when he bore to the northward. After sailing about sixty miles, he discovered land, which he named Baring Island. Passing up a strait between this island and Prince Albert Land, he reached latitude  $73^{\circ}$ . Here the ice stopped his further progress, and being afterwards drifted southward, his ship was ultimately frozen up in latitude  $72^{\circ} 40'$  North, longitude  $117^{\circ} 20'$  West, where he passed the winter of 1850. His travelling parties discovered much new territory, but found no traces of their missing countrymen. On the

14th of July, 1851, the ship was released, and McClure made another attempt northward, but was met by an impenetrable pack of ice in latitude  $75^{\circ} 34'$  North, longitude  $115^{\circ}$  West. Not discouraged, he retraced his way, proceeded round the southern extremity of Baring Island, and sailed with great peril up its western coast, till he reached latitude  $74^{\circ} 6'$  North, longitude  $117^{\circ} 12'$  West. At this point the ship was again frozen in, September 24, 1851, and there she still remains, unless broken up by the moving of the ice. The winter of 1851–52 was passed in active explorations. Travelling parties reached Melville Island, and deposited a record, stating their position at Winter Harbor, just a year after McClintock's visit. The following year must have worn gloomily away. The ship was fast in the Bay of Mercy, the officers and men dispirited and sick. Another winter with its cold and storms came and went, and still no relief. At last, in April, 1853, the looked-for succor arrived. Lieutenant Pim, of Kellett's ship, with a party from Melville Island, succeeded in reaching McClure's position, and communicated with the gallant sailor. We give the account of the meeting in the words of Captain Kellett, who was then at Melville Island in the *Resolute*:—

“McClure and his First Lieutenant were walking on the floe. Seeing a person coming very fast toward them, they supposed he was chased by a bear, or had seen a bear. Walked towards him; on getting onwards a hundred yards, they could see from his proportions that he was not one of them. Pim began to screech and throw up his hands (his face was as black as my hat); this brought the Captain and Lieutenant to a stand, as they could not hear sufficiently to make out his language.

“At length Pim reached the party, quite beside himself, and stammered out, on McClure's asking him, ‘Who are you, and where do you come from?’ ‘Lieutenant Pim, Herald, Captain Kellett.’ This was the more inexplicable to McClure, as I was the last person he shook hands with in Behring's Straits. He at length found that this solitary stranger was a true Englishman,—an angel of light. He says: ‘He soon was seen from the ship; they had only one hatchway open, and the crew were fairly jammed there in their endeavor to get up. The sick jumped out of their hammocks, and the crew forgot their despondency; in fact, all was changed on board the *Investigator*.’”

No time was lost in transferring the crew of the Investigator to more comfortable quarters. By the 2d of May they were all at Melville Island. *The Northwest Passage had at last been discovered.* To Captain McClure belongs the honor of the discovery.

Collinson, in the Enterprise, after leaving Hong Kong in May, 1851, followed close upon McClure's track, having reached that officer's winter station of 1850-51 only four days after it had been left. Failing in a passage northward through the same strait in which McClure failed, Captain Collinson sailed southward again, and wintered (1851-52) in Walker Bay, in Prince of Wales Strait, latitude  $71^{\circ} 35'$  North, longitude  $117^{\circ} 35'$  West. In the following summer he pursued an easterly course through Dolphin and Union Straits, and passed the winter of 1852-53 in Cambridge Bay, Wollaston Land, latitude  $69^{\circ}$  North,  $105^{\circ} 30'$  West. He then proceeded westward on his voyage, and passed the winter of 1853-54 in Camden Bay, latitude  $70^{\circ} 8'$  North, longitude  $145^{\circ} 30'$  West. Released again on the 15th of July, 1854, the Enterprise left Camden Bay, and arrived at Point Barrow, August 9th. Port Clarence was reached, August 21st. Collinson immediately left this point in pursuit of the Plover, which had sailed for San Francisco. The Enterprise was to proceed to Hong Kong. On this long and dangerous voyage but three men out of sixty-two died. The remainder, when last heard from, were in excellent health and spirits. What follows is taken from the San Francisco Herald, as reprinted in the New York Weekly Tribune of November 4th:—

"The Enterprise found traces of the navigator's \* passage in many places, and went within ninety miles of Winter Harbor, but, not being able to proceed farther on account of the ice, went up Wollaston Strait, and there fell in with traces of Dr. Rae's searches."

"In the spring of 1852, travelling parties were despatched over the ice, one of which reached Melville Island after great hardships. The natives met with during the voyage were of a peaceable and kind disposition, ready at all times to be of assistance in any manner in their power."

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\* We presume this a misprint for "Investigator," though it may refer to Franklin, of whom the Herald had just spoken.

To return to the year 1851. Much importance had been attached to the search up Prince Regent's Inlet. A large portion of the *Fury's* stores yet remained in an excellent state of preservation, and it was possible that Franklin might have made for them, as Ross did, in the event of his shipwreck. As soon, therefore, as the *Prince Albert* returned, in 1850, Lady Franklin decided to send her again, to continue the search in that quarter. Accordingly, Mr. William Kennedy was appointed to the command of the little vessel, and she sailed from Aberdeen, May 22, 1851. The *Prince Albert* wintered in the inlet at Batty Bay, from which point Mr. Kennedy made a series of valuable explorations. In the course of a journey of ninety-seven days, he passed, with sledges and dogs, over a distance of eleven hundred miles, in all the time having no shelter by night except snow-houses, such as are used by the natives, which his men soon learned to build. He passed southward, along the eastern coast of North Somerset, till he reached Brentford Bay, when he struck to the west. Crossing Peel's Sound, to the south of which he saw open water, which is supposed to be the Victoria Strait of Rae, he continued his course westward, as far as longitude 100° West; then, turning to the north, he came to the coast explored by Ommaney and Osborn; thence, going east and north, he reached and examined Cape Walker, and then returned to his vessel by the north coast of North Somerset. In all this journey he found no traces of Franklin. He was even unable to find the deposits made by Ommaney at Cape Walker the year previous. Arriving at Batty Bay, May 30, 1852, he was obliged to remain till August 6th, when he was released, and immediately sailed for Beechey, where he arrived, August 19th. Departing thence, he arrived at Aberdeen, October 7, 1852. He found the *Fury's* stores, at Fury Beach, untouched, and speaks of them as "much superior in quality, after thirty years of exposure to the weather, to some of the *Prince Albert's* own stores, and those supplied to other Arctic expeditions." They were of great use to him in his sledge parties.

The reports carried home by the expeditions of 1850 were of such a nature as to induce the Admiralty to send out another

expedition in the spring of 1852. Five vessels, the Assistance, Resolute, North Star, and the Pioneer and Intrepid steamers, were fitted out, put under the command of Sir Edward Belcher, and sailed from England, April 21, 1852, for the purpose of exploring Wellington Channel. Two, the Assistance and the Pioneer, were to proceed directly up the channel, under Belcher's own command. Two others, the Resolute and the Intrepid, were to go to Melville Island, under Captain Kellett, to co-operate with Collinson and McClure; and the North Star was to take post at Beechey as a store-ship. Lady Franklin was also in the field once more. The screw-steamer Isabel was despatched to Baffin's Bay to investigate a story told by an Esquimaux, that Franklin had been murdered at Holstenholme Sound; as also to ascertain the truth of a report that two vessels were seen stranded on an iceberg in the North Atlantic. This vessel was absent four months, and ascertained that there was no foundation for either statement. The season of 1852 was an open one, and Sir Edward Belcher's squadron was enabled to follow the instructions of the Admiralty to the letter. Belcher succeeded in passing up Wellington Channel as far as latitude  $76^{\circ} 52'$  North, longitude  $97^{\circ}$  West, and wintered in Northumberland Bay, near Cape Sir John Franklin. Kellett proceeded to Melville Island, where he wintered, and the North Star was stationed at Beechey. Kellett's winter and spring parties succeeded in communicating with McClure, as we have said, and also found abundant traces of the Enterprise, while Belcher did but little. The following season was very unfavorable. Belcher could go only thirty miles through the whole summer, and that in the wrong direction, as he had determined to return to Beechey. Kellett could do little more. Another winter, that of 1853 - 54, was passed in very nearly the same positions as before. So far, all was as well as could be. But late advices from England have brought the disagreeable intelligence that Belcher had ignobly abandoned four of his vessels, and, with the North Star and the Phoenix, which latter vessel went out in 1853, under Inglefield, to reinforce the squadron, returned with McClure, Kellett, and all the survivors of the different crews. The English journals intimate

that disputes with his officers were the cause that induced such an inglorious issue of the undertaking. The appointment of Belcher was undoubtedly unfortunate. All his acts, so far as known, publish his incompetency. He was unable to find the stores left, in 1850, at Navy Board Inlet by the *North Star*. His exploration of Wellington Channel was very imperfect. A single winter drove him to retreat, and two winters completely discomfited him. Four fine ships, thoroughly equipped, well supplied, and fully available for further operations, have been left to their fate by his orders. When compared with the conduct of the daring McClure, the measures of Belcher savor strongly of timidity, if not of downright cowardice.\*

By way of Behring's Strait, the *Rattlesnake* was sent, in 1853, to relieve the *Plover*. She succeeded in reaching Port Clarence and wintered there. After cruising near the edge of the pack through the summer of 1854, and communicating with the *Enterprise*, she repassed Behring's Strait, and arrived at San Francisco on the 25th of last September.

Meanwhile our own countrymen were not idle. By the munificence of Messrs. George Peabody of London, and Henry Grinnell of New York, a second American expedition was fitted out. The brig *Advance* was completely equipped and provisioned, and given in charge to Dr. E. K. Kane, who superintended in person every preparation for the voyage. The *Advance* sailed from New York, May 31, 1853. Dr. Kane had fully made up his opinion with the English officers in 1850, that Franklin had passed Wellington Channel. He also had decided that Smith's Sound, in the upper waters of

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\* Belcher, McClure, Kellett, and the other officers were court-martialled after their arrival in England. McClure and Belcher's subordinates were honorably acquitted, and in each instance the sword was returned with a complimentary remark. In Belcher's case, the verdict was "acquitted." The word "honorably" was omitted, and his sword was returned to him in silence.

We cannot pass over without mention a sad event connected with the last English expedition. M. Bellot, a young French officer, who had joined the expedition through a love for the service and a desire to encounter the dangers connected with it, was lost from an ice-floe during a severe gale. M. Bellot had endeared himself to all his companions by his generous and warm-hearted character, and was already known to Americans by the high appreciation of Dr. Kane. As a scientific man, too, he had laid the foundation of a lasting reputation.

Baffin's Bay, was the best opening into the sea where he expected to find the missing expedition. His plan was to explore this passage by means of sledges dragged by dogs, and of boats which he had constructed for the purpose. Once having arrived at his winter-quarters, he was to push on his travelling parties as far as possible, to prepare a depot of provisions for spring use, and then to return to the vessel during the polar night, using for shelter snow-houses, to be built as required. In the spring of 1854 the real work of the expedition was to commence. Parties, travelling as lightly as possible, were to explore in every direction thought necessary. If possible, the brig would doubtless go farther on, though it was the Doctor's intention to return during the summer of 1854. That these plans are feasible, and, if carried out, effectual, the experience of McClintock, Kennedy, and Meecham, of Kellett's ship, has abundantly proved. Dr. Kane has a picked crew, and a strong vessel, and has made a complete preparation. Filled with the spirit of adventure and of courage, he has infused it into his companions, and he departed sanguine of success. If Sir John Franklin was to be found in that direction, Kane was the man to find him. The expedition reached the coast of Greenland, June 27, 1853, touched at Fiskernaes on the 29th, at Sukertöppen soon after, and was at Pröven on July 20th. When last heard from, the little brig was just entering the Devil's Trap, at the most northerly portion of Baffin's Bay. There is hardly a doubt that the gallant adventurers reached their destination in season for procuring a good wintering station. The season of 1854 was an unusually close one, according to the reports of the whalers in that region, and this explains the fact of the non-arrival of the expedition. It is possible, too, that the adventurous sailor has passed into the open sea supposed to exist around the pole, and it is not beyond the bounds of probability that he may return by way of Wellington Channel, and, if so, may fall in with Belcher's squadron, and bring home with him one or more of the good ships, from which he might take his choice. If he really knew how the case stood, might it not be a very good Yankee speculation?

We do not feel as yet any apprehension for the fate of the

American expedition. We know the ability, the skill, the fearlessness, of its leader. We have full confidence in his plans, and believe that all which can be done will be done. There may be no cause of fear respecting his fate. Still, we are glad to find that Congress, at its late session, has determined to fit out an expedition to search for him during the coming summer. The act is approved by the whole nation, and we await its issue with hope. The British government has never been unmindful of the condition of its servants. Already it has expended the immense sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling in the search for Franklin; and intelligence has lately reached us, that another expedition is to start overland in the spring of 1855, under the direction of Mr. John Rae, to King William's Land and the North American coast adjoining. Generosity on our part towards Dr. Kane is nothing more than justice.

The drama is fast drawing to a close. The last melancholy act is to be played out. It has, we fear, become a most sorrowful tragedy. The Arctic search, begun in buoyancy, hope, cheerful anticipation, ends in darkness, heaviness, disappointment, death. Mr. Rae, of whom we have made frequent mention, has at last found the clew which will lead, undoubtedly, to a complete knowledge of the fate of Sir John Franklin. The mystery will soon become clear, the problem solved. In his explorations during the last spring and summer, he reached Pelby Bay on the 17th of April. This place is on the western side of the Gulf of Boothia, in latitude 68° North, longitude 90° West. Here he met with some Esquimaux, who said that a large party (at least forty persons) had perished from starvation, some ten or twelve days' journey to the westward. The substance of their information, as reported by Mr. Rae, is as follows :—

“In the spring, four winters past, (spring 1850,) a party of white men, amounting to about forty, were seen travelling southward over the ice, and dragging a boat with them, by some Esquimaux who were killing seals on the north shore of King William's Land, which is a large island named Kei-ik-tak by the Esquimaux. None of the party could speak the native language intelligibly, but by signs the natives were made to understand that their ships or ship had been crushed by



ice, and that the 'whites' were now going where they expected to find deer to shoot. From the appearance of the men, all of whom, except one officer (chief), looked thin, they were then supposed to be getting short of provisions, and they purchased a small seal from the natives.

"At a later date, the same season, but previous to the disruption of the ice, the bodies of about thirty white persons were discovered on the continent, and five on an island near it, about a long day's journey (say 35 or 40 miles) to the northwest of a large stream, which can be no other than Back's Great Fish River (named by the Esquimaux Out-koo-hi-ca-lik), as its description, and that of the low shore in the neighborhood of Point Ogle and Montreal Island, agree exactly with that of Sir George Back. Some of the bodies had been buried (probably those of the first victims of famine), some were in a tent or tents, others under a boat that had been turned over to form a shelter, and several lay scattered about in different directions. Of those found on the island, one was supposed to have been an officer, as he had a telescope strapped over his shoulder, and his double-barrelled gun lay underneath him.

"From the mutilated state of many of the corpses, and the contents of the kettles, it is evident that our miserable countrymen had been driven to the last resource — cannibalism — as a means of prolonging life.

"There appears to have been an abundant stock of ammunition, as the powder was emptied in a heap on the ground by the natives, out of the kegs or cases containing it, and a quantity of ball and shot was found below high-water-mark, having been left on the ice close to the beach. There must have been a number of watches, telescopes, compasses, guns (several double-barrelled), &c., all of which appear to have been broken up, as I saw pieces of these different articles with the Esquimaux, and, together with some silver spoons and forks, purchased as many as I could obtain. A list of the most important of these I inclose, with a rough pen and ink sketch of the events and initials on the forks and spoons. The articles themselves shall be handed over to the Secretary of the Hon. H. B. Co., on my arrival in London.

"None of the Esquimaux with whom I conversed had seen the 'whites,' nor had they ever been at the place where the dead were found, but had their information from those who had been there, and those who had seen the party when alive."

The pieces of plate which are mentioned were inscribed with the crests and initials of some of the officers of Sir John's party. "H. D. S. G." are the initials of Goodsir, the Surgeon

of the Erebus; "A. McD." are those of McDonald, Assistant Surgeon of the Terror; "C. A. M." of Second Master Maclean, of the Terror; "J. F." of Fitzjames, commander of the Erebus; and "J. S. P." of Surgeon Peddie, of the Terror. A small silver plate which was found bears the inscription in full, "Sir John Franklin, K. C. B."

We have tried to disbelieve this story of Rae. All our calculations had pointed to Wellington Channel as Franklin's route, and this information comes from an unexpected quarter. We have considered that the story comes to Rae at third hand. We have remembered that, in the time of Ross, the natives of King William's Land were a peaceable, kind, and generous people, and would have willingly helped a white party in distress. We have remembered, too, that Rae himself was on the coast of Victoria Land, directly opposite, in 1851, and could find no traces of the expedition; that Osborn was on the shore of Prince of Wales Land in 1851, and could find no traces; and that Kennedy had examined the southern coast of North Somerset, next north of King William's Land, and could find no traces. How could it be possible for Franklin with forty persons to have passed along these very coasts, it may be, and left no sign? McClure and Collinson find nothing in their explorations farther west. We have thought, too, of the fact, that the whole thing is unprecedented in Arctic annals. If the ships had been abandoned to the west, McClure must have found them. If they had been nipped, some relic, a spar, a piece of cordage, — something must have been left. Why, too, should not Franklin have made for Fury Beach where were stores in plenty, instead of the American coast, where he wellnigh perished in 1821? Why be short of provisions at all? True, his ships were provisioned for only three years, but at Beechey and at Melville Island animal life abounds, and he might have replenished his stores. We have thought of all this, and tried to reason ourselves into a disbelief of the report. But here are these articles in the possession of the Esquimaux. They evidently belonged to Franklin and his party. They could not have come into the possession of the natives till after the death of the owners, as they would not have been given in payment for pro-

visions. The irresistible conclusion is, that Franklin and his men must have suffered terribly, and that their sufferings were terminated only by their death. We see no way of escape. We must be allowed, however, to doubt the statement as to their cannibalism. That is too monstrous for belief. We know how little dependence can be placed upon the words of these Indians. It may be—horrible as the suspicion is, it is not unreasonable—it may be that the natives of the mainland committed murder and fabricated the story to cover their crime. There may have been some truth in Back's statement, after all. Still Rae is thoroughly experienced in all these matters, and would be likely to state nothing without good reason for believing it reliable. We anxiously wait for the result of his visit to the scene of the alleged disaster during the coming season.

With regard to the route pursued by Franklin, we are not left wholly to conjecture. It is now certain that he did not go up Wellington Channel. The traces of his encampment at Beechey threw the explorers entirely off his track. He did not go to the westward of Melville Island. This is McClintock's positive assurance. He did not go in the direction of McClure's route, where that officer's ship was last frozen in. He did not go up Prince Regent's Inlet. He probably obeyed his instructions, and went to the southwest, either through Peel's Sound, and so into Victoria Strait, or through the sea seen by Ommaney and Osborn to the west of Prince of Wales Land. This is, doubtless, the sea which McClure attempted to penetrate; but failing, he was driven back to the southward of Baring Island. In this sea, not yet examined, so far as we can learn, he was, in all probability, wrecked. By one of those sudden movements of the ice to which all the searching ships have been exposed, the *Erebus* and *Terror* may have been crushed. The American expedition was in danger of this very calamity several times during its fall and winter imprisonment. Officers and men were all ready to leave the vessels, and anxiously expected to be compelled to take to the ice. What they escaped may have been the doom of Franklin and his men. The region between latitude  $70^{\circ}$  and  $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  North and longitude  $105^{\circ}$  and  $115^{\circ}$  West has not

yet been explored. Somewhere in this region Franklin either abandoned his ships or lost them. He was not probably wrecked in Peel's Sound; for had he been, he would doubtless have made for Fury Beach. After the calamity which overtook him by sea, he probably made his way, in the winter of 1849-50,—or it may be in the preceding summer,—to Victoria Land, and thence attempted to cross to the main. Perhaps Rae and himself might have been simultaneously watching, from nearly opposite points, for an open passage across the strait. Foiled in this, Franklin's party may have crossed Victoria Strait, (the open sea seen to the southward by Kennedy in 1852,) near the northwest shore of King William's Land, proceeded southward, succeeded in reaching the mainland, and there have been murdered by the natives or perished from starvation. Against these very Esquimaux Back was warned, in 1833, as being treacherous and cruel. It is possible, also, that the party divided, a portion going westward towards the Mackenzie, by way of Prince Albert Land and the neighboring strait, and suffering the same fate with their countrymen at the eastward. McClure tells the following story:—

“He states that, during his intercourse with the natives, he only once met with any hostile demonstrations. This occurred at Point Warren, near the Mackenzie, where, on attempting to land, two natives with threatening gestures waved them off. It was not without much difficulty that they were pacified, and then they related that all their tribe but the chief and his sick son had fled on seeing the ship, alleging as a reason that they feared the ship had come to revenge the death of a white man they had murdered some time ago. They (through the interpreter) related that some white men had come there in a boat, and that they built themselves a house and lived there; at last the natives murdered one, and the others escaped they knew not where, but the murdered man was buried in a spot they pointed out. A thick fog coming on prevented Captain McClure from examining this locality, which is much to be regretted, as here is the probable position where a boat party endeavoring to return by the Mackenzie would have encamped.”

This was in the summer of 1850. We give it as we find it in Inglefield's despatch of October 4, 1853.

And now, *cui bono*? Of what benefit and to whom is all this? The Northwest Passage has been found, and found to be impassable. South of latitude 76°, the Polar region, with the exception of the space we have mentioned, has been quite thoroughly explored, and found to be filled with impenetrable ice and uninhabitable islands. It can never be opened as the pathway of civilization, and from it commerce can reap no gains. It has been found to be, alas! the destruction of noble ships, the grave of heroic men. Henceforth let it rest in its gloomy solitude.

True, there are other results, scientific, geographical, and these are valuable. The Pole of maximum cold has been found to be farther south than was generally supposed. The human frame has been discovered to be capable of enduring in safety the rigors of a temperature sometimes so low as 70°. The existence of an open sea around the Pole is supposed to be proved by the migrations of animal life thitherward, by the direction of oceanic currents in that region, by the course of the polar drift-ice, and by the observations of Barentz, Wrangell, and others. Animal life has been found in great abundance during the warm season. Mineralogy has had several hundred specimens added to its list. Much additional information has been gained respecting the northern part of our continent. But Cathay has not yet been reached, and it is a serious question to consider, whether the expense of the long undertaking, in treasure, and, more than all, in human life, has not largely overbalanced the value of the returns.